16: Müller--230 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 561, 646

In all those tribes where there is a tendency toward autonomy, there is a marked division according to age levels among the men who hold the vote.

21: Asai--7 [5] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 561 Ami

"Age classes in Ami tribe."

16: Müller--230 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 466, 653, 561, 805 Ami

Among some tribes of the Amis group it is customary to assign public works according to the degree of physical development rather than age, since in some cases they do not even keep track of their age. They divide the men into three to eleven classes and assign these to permanent positions; this includes the construction of roads, guard duty, etc.

31: Hofmann--620-621 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 561, 621 Tsou

The most striking feature in the villages of the aborigines are the houses for bachelors (cf. Fig. 5). Both of the villages I visited, Tebor and Tappan, have a large hut of this type; it may be easily distinguished from the rest since it is erected on pilework, while the other houses are built of stone. The lower story is open on all sides; the upper story is open along the front of the house and has a straw roof. The natives climb up to the hall on a tree trunk in which notches have been cut; this is by no means easy. [621] In this hall all the unmarried men live together. Here the natives also hold their councils of war and discuss all the important affairs of the tribe, so that this hut is, as it were, their ministry, parliament, and stock market. No woman may enter this sanctum under any conditions.

34: Del Re--16-19 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 561, 888 Yami

"The respect paid to and the great prestige enjoyed by senior members of the community is not based merely [pages 17 and 18 contain illustrations] [19] on seniority but on the personal qualities and skills of the individual as evidenced by his actions. Thus when, for whatever reason, they are considered to have outgrown their usefulness to the tribe, they automatically lose their position."

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surviving example of their original type of dwelling.

The *kikita:n* managed the religious ceremonies which were entirely concerned with the staple crops, millet and rice. The following were the more important agricultural rituals:

misauma	millet-sowing
mikolas	millet-weeding
mihavai	millet-harvest
misapanai	rice-sowing
mi?ot?ot	rice-weeding
mibanai	rice-harvest
irisiŋ	New Year, following termination of *mihavai* in mid-September

We will describe the *irisiŋ* and the function of the *kakita:n* during this rite in a later section.

Age-grades

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We will describe the Tavarong Ami age-grading system in detail for two reasons, firstly, because some inaccuracies about this system have appeared in the literature, and secondly, because age-grading is at the heart of the Ami social structure.

The Ami age-grade system has been discussed by Ino (1910 and 1912), Koizumi (1928), Okada (1932a and 1932b), Kamura (1939:259–277), Furuno (1945:285–320), and others. Okada describes Ami age-grading as follows:

> The age-grade systems of the tribe may be separated into two forms: those consisting of three class divisions—childhood, youth, and manhood with old age (found among the Nan-shih, Hsiu-ku-luan, and Hai-an groups); and those consisting of four class divisions—childhood, youth in the prepartory stage, youth, and manhood with old age (found among the Pei-nan and Heng-ch'un groups). The Ami age-grade systems may also be classified according to names above the youth class into three types: 1) those having a limited group of names which are cyclically used, 2) those in which names are assigned to all new grades, and 3) those which combine the previous two types. (Okada 1939: 14).

Okada has pointed out that the Nan-shih group and Vataan of the Hsiu-ku-luan group belong to the first classification; the Pei-nan, Hai-an, and Heng-ch'un groups and Tavarong of the Hsiu-ku-luan group to the second; and Kiwit of the Hsiu-ku-luan group to the third classification.

Wei in a recent article (1953) only recorded two types based on the assignment of names to age-grades. He names the first type of Okada as the "Nan-shih type" and the second as the "Ma-lan type". Okada's third type which is represented by Kiwit is classified by Wei under the "Nan-shih type". Wei also stated that

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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561 the age-grade system of Tavarong belongs to the "Nan-shih type". By comparing grade names collected in Tavarong by ourselves with those recorded by Sayama 1914:133) and Furuno (1945:300-1), we find that we are in agreement with Okada that the Tavarong age-grade system belongs to Wei's "Ma-lan type" instead of the "Nan-shih type". In other words, in Tavarong new names are assigned to all new grades. A reconstructed name list compiled by us for this paper giving grade names covering a period of 110 years will clarify this point:

GRADE NAMES COLLECTED BY CHEN AND COE IN 1953	GEADE NAMES RECORDED BY FURUNO IN 1938	GRADE NAMES RECORDED BY SAYAMA IN 1914	EQUIVALENT AGES OF GRADE MEMBERS IN 1953
Ratavok			16-20
Rariwas			21-25
Ratodo			26-30
Ratoron	Uratorun		31-35
Ravuvok	Uraboak		36-40
Rati?ol	Uratior		41-45
Ratomai	Uratomai		46-50
Mawai	Umaowai		51-55
Rati?un	Uraowau	Uradewas	56-60
Ratsogau	Uratsogau	Uratsugau	61-65
Gaku?a	Urakoa		66-70
Rapara	Uraparo	Urarabe	71-75
Rao?ets	Uraoets	Uraoits	76-80
Ratoto	Uratodo	Uratodo	81-85
Ratavok	Uratabok	Uratabok	86-90
	Uratsiyan	Urateam	91-95
	Umaorad	Umaorad	96-100
	Urawau	Urawau	101-105
		Urakoha	106-110
		Urateo	111-115
		Uratomai	116-120
		Urasadok	121-125

Furuno and Sayama recorded the grade names shown in the second and third columns in Japanese *kana* characters. Therefore, in the romanization, some minute differences in the names have been unavoidable. It will be noted that some changes of names have taken place; for instance Furuno (1945:301) reported that the age-grade name Uradewas was changed to Uraowau. One can also see from the table that although new names are assigned to new grades, there is a tendency to re-use names of former grades, although this is by no means done cyclically.

The age-grades are open only to males. At the age of 15 or 16 years[8], a boy

8. Our informant Vudai-Katf said that 18 years was the usual age at initiation.

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participates in the *misuḷar*, the initiation rite, and becomes a member of the first grade. Since the initiation rite is held only once every five years in the *saḷuratan*, the assembly hall, two or three days before the *irisiŋ*, there is some range of ages at which boys are initiated. On the day of the *misuḷar* all the old grades are promoted, although their grade names remain unchanged. A member of the Rariwas grade, for instance, remains so throughout life. Vudai-Kate reported that the interval between initiation rites was longer in the ancient days, and that it was reduced because of the increasing village population which has resulted in the increase of members in each grade.[9] Each grade has its monitor, callad *komol no surar*. Persons showing abilities for leadership will become monitors by common assent. Wei (1953) states:

> Leadership within each grade is determined by seniority as well as by ability. When a grade is formed, one of them will be chosen to be the nominal leader on the basis of seniority. At the same time, two or three others can establish their leadership by their abilities, achievements, and wealth. They participate in the activities of the organization when the grade itself is still in the preparatory stage, to show their capacities and win support from their fellow grade-members.

Our information, however, indicates that in Tavarong there is only one leader in each grade, and he is chosen for his abilities.

The irisiŋ

We have already referred to the *irisiŋ* as one of the great Ami agricultural rituals. Furuno (1945:101–103) has described the *irisiŋ*, which was the Ami New Year. After the millet-harvesting rite, there was a lull in the life of Tavarong. Since there was little to do, the townsmen repaired their houses. On the first full moon following the house repairs, the *irisiŋ* commenced. It was the most important ritual of the year. The *irisiŋ* was managed by the *kakita:n* family. One female and one male member of the family were leaders of the ritual. The female member was always the head of the family, and the male was her brother.

Saumah-Kuriu, the head of the remaining *kakita:n* family of Tavarong, had three siblings; Namo?-Kuras[10] (male), Padai-Kuriu (female), and Riŋa-Kuriu (female). In the Tavarong *irisiŋ*, Saumah and her brother Namo? were the leaders. The ceremonial procedures followed about thirty years ago were described by informants Vuei-Mayau, Rata-Namo? (Saumah's husband), and Vudai-Kate, and are given in the paragraphs which follow.

One week before the start of the ritual, all the siblings of Saumah returned to the family house and began the observation of the taboo on eating fish and

9. The period of years between initiation rites varies in different Ami villages. Nataoran, Pokpok, and Ridau hold a *misuḷar* every seven years, Kiwit and Malan every three years.
10. This name is given as Namo?-Kuriu in *Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku, Jinshugaku Kenkyushitsu* [1935:chart 275].

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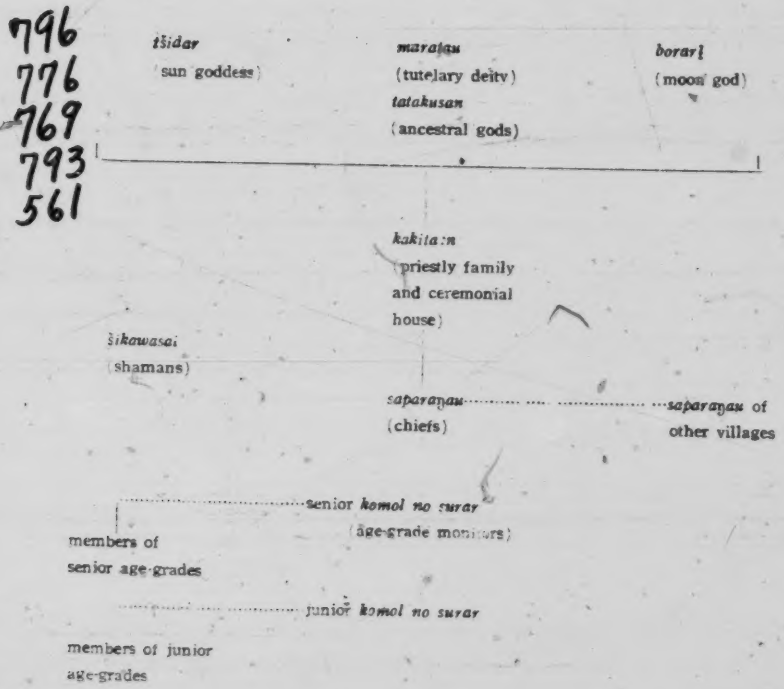

Figure 2: the Ami hierarchy at *irisiŋ*

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purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries between the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*, leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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